## HOW IT WAS DONE

How the Democratic Convention Came to Adopt

## THE RADICAL TARIFF PLANK

Grover Cleveland's "Honesty" Almost Resulted in the Adoption of Another "Straddle."

While the national Democratic convenion was in session and before the platform had been given out, it was con-fidently predicted that the tartiff plank would be one after Cobden's own heart. Those predictions have been fulfilled. It looked at one time as though they would have come to naught, and this is

would have come to naught, and this is how it happened:

The platform committee, devoted to Mr. Cleveland's interests and subservient to his wishes, with Major C. H. Jones, editor of the St. Louis Republic, as chairman, drew up and reported to the convention the following tariff plank, after, as it is confidently asserted, it had received the telegraphic approval of Mr. Cleveland himself from Buzzard's Bay, Mass.

We reiterate the oft repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the government is the only natification for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when custom house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind pro-duced in this country the difference be-tween the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional im-positions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and for the mere advant-age of the few whom it enriches exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the uses of the government; and we demand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequal-ities, lighten their oppression and put them on a constitutional and equitable

"But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in execution to this plain dictate of justice."

The striking resemblance between this plank and that which Mr. Henry Watterson calls "the straddle of 1884" will be best appreciated by comparing the

be best appreciated by comparing the one above with said "straddle:"

"But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure and domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many stries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must at every step e regardful of the labor and capital hus involved. The process of reform must be subject to the execution of this plain dictate of justice. "All taxation shall be limited to the

The necessary reduction in on can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this

It will be instructive to compare with the foregoing planks the Republican tariff plank adopted at Minneapolis this

"We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

It will be observed that in principle this is in substantial accord with the Democratic plank before given. The Republican platform merely asks for a tariff high enough to compensate for the difference in the cost of production here and abroad, and both Democratic platforms declare for the same policy.

The "straddle of 1864" did not express

the real sentiment of the party, but was ed to allay the fears of that large say of Democrats who cling to the tra-tions of Jefferson and Jackson in their firm support of ample protection for American labor and industry from degrading and impoverlating foreign com-petition. It furnished ground to the Democratic orators and editors in states of pronounced protectionist sentiment for their reiterated denials that their party was not in favor of free trade.

This could be done at that time with some show of reason, perhaps, as the Mills bill and the deluge of free trade argument which followed it had not yet argument which followed it had not yet appeared. But it surpasses the comprehension of man how Grover Cleveland and his friends at Chicago could dare to insult the intelligence of the American people by repeating that straddle of 1884 with Cleveland's own free trade meaning, the Mills hill based on it, and the pending free wool, free cotton bagging and free cutton ties bills on record and nd free cotton ties bills on record and

resh in the memories of voters. Is it any wonder that the enthusiastic free traders in the convention were dum-founded and dismared when they heard the tariff plank read? or that Henry Watterson, that veteran maker of Democratic platforms, was moved to exelaim. "My God! Is it possible that in 1880 we have to go back for a tariff plank to the struddle of 1884."

Even Grover Cleveland's influence, nunt though it was in that conit to accept a tariff declaration which so paipably belied its true sentiments. Mr. Lawrence T. Neal, of Ohio, moved that the plank read should be struck out and the following substitute adopted in its

"We denounce the Republican protec-tion as a frand; a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declars it to be a fundamental principle of the Demo-

eratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered.

Despite the opposition of Mr. Cleve-land's friends, the amendment went through with a hurrah, and it stands today as the official pronouncement of the Democratic party on the subject of tariff legislation. It is a threat of destruction against American manufacturing in-dustries, and a promise of idleness and hunger to American workingmen and their families, to be fulfilled as soon as the Democratic party finds itself able to enact its declaration into law.

Cleveland would run magnificently in

Over there they are all for him.
His free trade policy, if adopted in this country, would mean millions upon millions to British manufacturers and

British workingmen.

But it would come out of the pockets of American manufacturers and out of the wages of American labor.

Long before the Revolution England resolved that America should never manufacture for herself.

During the first half of the Eighteenth During the first half of the Eighteenth

During the first half of the Eighteenth century the poor colonists made a fee-ble beginning in the fabrication of coarse woolens, linen and hats. English manufacturers complained of this to their government and parliament interfered—in what manner we shall let Adam Smith, the founder of the free trade school, relate. We extract from his Wealth of Nations, published in 1776: "England prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water.

from one province to another by water, and even by land upon horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wool and woolen goods of American production, a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industries of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family cou-monly makes for its own use or for that of some of its neighbors in the same

That policy was adhered to with re-lentless vigor by England down to the

Since that time she has watched with impotent rage and maddening envy our advance in manufactures, under the shelter of a protective tariff which rendered futile her malevolent attempts to destroy them.

Is it any wonder that her sympathy in this campaign is with the party which in effect proclaims in its platform its purpose to reduce us once more to that deplorable state of industrial vassalage from which the Bevolution freed us?

Can a true American vote for the candidates of such a party?—American

"References" Change Their Tactica.

No longer can my friend from Nebraska, Mr. Bryan, stand up as he did two years ago, holding out to the eager multitude trade circulars furnished as campaign documents by the alien jobbers of New York city. The day of reckoning has come. The act of 1890, discredited for a time by adroit declamation, is today vindicated by the non-partisen, and unimpossioned array of "Reformers" Change Their Tactica. facts in its behalf. And if you gentlemen exercised in politics the same polite instincts that distinguish you in private life, instead of standing here three hours to our one inventing new com-plaints against us, you would be on your feet apologizing for what you said last

As it is I felicitate you upon the progress you have made. Two years ago you had to be restrained by the speaker lest you should tear the McKinley bill from the clerk's hands as he read the horrible items of its abomination. Today your actions, speaking louder and more eloquently than your words, imply a frame of such profound respect for that great enactment that you stand around it talking and gesturing, like children in the old time menagerie, prodding the elephant here and there with sticks and running away if the animal turns to notice the annoyance.—Congressman Dolliver. Congressman Dolliver.

Significant Facts.

During the three years ending March 31, 1889, the last three years of Cleveland's administration, our aggregate imports amounted to \$2,130,358,910; exports to \$2,159,343,289 and balance of trade in our favor to \$28,964,879, or a yearly average of \$9,661,459. During the three years ending March 31, 1892, the first three years of Harrison's administration our aggregate imports amounted to \$2,440,053,828, exports to \$2,721,251,195 and balance of trade in our favor to \$281,197,367, or an annual average of

\$93,732,456. This is the difference between a perior in which commerce is stimulated and business confidence increased by the knowledge that the party in control of the government is committed to the policy of protection, and one in which commerce is retarded and confidence shattered because the party in power favors the suicidal economic system of

Repetits for the Farmer. Speaking of the effects of the McKin-y tariff on Canadian agriculture, a Canadian contemporary says, "In Onbeen all but destroyed," which simply means that American farmers and horse raisers are now supplying portions of our markets formerly supplied by Cana-

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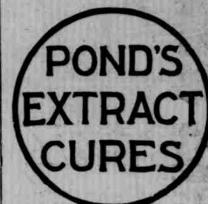
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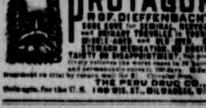
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